2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 644 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder, and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 [693] [651] Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part 643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for 681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did [628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 577 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Dwong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *agu*.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne.

[562]

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Banholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned.

[662]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country.

POWER OF THE KING

[65]

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also.

JURISDICTION

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All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself.

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In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tyqi orɣk* ("men of crime") or *adʒɾɣ*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adʒɾɣ*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adʒɾɣ* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adʒɾɣ* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves.

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[644]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adʒɾɣ*.

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Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 *Kine: à, dɔ̀ch, kɛ̀t, kɔ̀lú jwɔ̀k! Ka gɛ bɛ̀ŋɛ. Ka gɛ wapɛ fɔ̀te gɛn, ka bûl gɔ̀ch, ka tʃɛrɛ chɔ̀ŋɛ kí bâl. Ka gɛ lɔ̀gɔ: wuna yìk tʃɛrɛ, ɛ́, wɔ́ dúɔ̀k, dɛ̀ bɛ̀t pɛ́ɲ mɔ̀t.*

*539 224 643 651 The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyɛk-antelope. And all the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people, (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyɛk-antelope, which belongs to the king: if any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then they pray: "O Nyikang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us to have any mishap! You grandfather of man, kill the game well, so that we may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyikang!" Then a goat is brought, it is speared; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed, the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before them; when they have brought it all, the big (district-) chief divides the animals, and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he says: "Tan it!" And they tan it. When they have finished tanning, the skins are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined them) says: "All right!" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?" He seizes a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do you bring?" They answer: "Who have brought royal goods." The king asks: "How many?" They reply: "Sixty." He answers: "Very well." Then the king brings a big steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now!)". The king answers: "Why, hold fast (to) God (that is: stay!)" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with God!"**

[576 644] **When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people: "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" [1]**

28. Making Boats for the King.

*539 *A kɛ̀t tʃɛrɛ bɛ́ ùwɛ̀t kí yɛ̀t, yɛ̀te kwɛ́r, ka tʃɛrɛ ùùdɔ̀, ka yɛ̀t kɔ̀l, kɛ́ tʃɛrɛ̀ bɛ̀ŋɛ̀, ka tʃɛrɛ wapí fach. Ka jɔ̀gɛ chwɔ́l, ka yɛ̀t tyɛr kɛ́ è nɛ̀ŋɛ, ka ɛ kɔpɛ mɛ́, ka ɛ ko: kwaɲ yɛ̀t ak! Ka kwɔ́ɲ, ka ɛ ko: mɛ̀k an bo mɛ̀k rìt, ka mɛ̀k an tyɛ̀ɲ, ka gɛ kwɔ́ch, ka gɛ bɛ̀ŋɛ gin kɛau Bachɔ̀dɛ.*

[1] The *dyɛk*-antelope belongs to the king, out of its hide clothes for the king's wives are made.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 614 621 644 [173] or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 565 614 651 643 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

565 614 644 558 *Ororo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth* which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyiewk* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1630.
18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.
19. *Tish mi Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

613 The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for
622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he
[651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

622 The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home-
[621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

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Shilluk tribe	.. ..	*Reth.*
Luak and Ger	.. ..	Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang.*
Division (*luak*)	.. ..	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*)	..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	.. ..	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	.. .. ..	*Jal Gol.*

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debalo, during which his followers are mustering from the south, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arepejur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfuc*) nearby.

The substitution on the sacred stool

In front of this shrine the sacred stool of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of substitution and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang.

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adul*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ororo*.

The vigil in Athurwic

On the next evening, he ascends into *Athurwic*[1], the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ororo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Athurwic* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa.

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control.

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, *reth* Anei in 1944 and *reth* Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti which follows, it will be

[1] Variously spelt: *Aturwic*, *Athudowic*, *Athurwic*.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Hasn't he been working for the past four months or so planting and weeding and reaping? Hasn't he got enough food now, that eked out with a little not too strenuous fishing will last him for six months or so, that is, if he can get his kids into the school again, and thus be relieved of the necessity of feeding them? And that reminds him, he must get that eldest son of his out of the school. The crop is gathered in now, so the goats can be let out to graze and the lad can mind them; it is time that he did something useful after the nice long holiday he has had up at the foreigner's place during the rains. Now it is his turn to have a holiday, and, by Nyikang, he's going to have one too; he's going to sit around and do nothing but drink beer until the rains come round again. Of course, there is that little matter of his tax that the other unpleasant foreigner from Kodok will be demanding soon. Of the two, he prefers the fellow at the mission; he sometimes gives him tobacco, but the only thing the one in Kodok has ever given him is three months in prison. Well, the tax is easily disposed of. His wife can sell some of the grain, or go out into the forest and collect enough firewood to sell to the Sisters in order to pay the tax. Thus pleasantly musing, he roars to a boy to fetch him his pipe, and to his wife to bring some more beer, and he sinks back against the fence of his house and relaxes gratefully in the warm sunshine.

If such is the general attitude of the Shilluk in the district, the would-be brickmaker and builder finds that his ambitious schemes have to be drastically modified. It is little use his going out, like the king's servants in the parable, into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in. Experience has taught him that if the Shilluk don't want to work they won't, and no amount of persuading will make them. He manages to raise a couple of teams of brickmakers, a moulder and two labourers to each team, and a few thriftless youths who have no money to pay their tax or other means of raising it drift in and are set to work to supply the brickmakers with sand and water. But he is in a sorry plight; he won't get anything like the number of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

And often enough, that is just what does happen. The rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line